AIM

THE BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

Published by IPAC | Single Issue Price 15¢ | Vol. 2, No. 6, Oct. 17, 1967

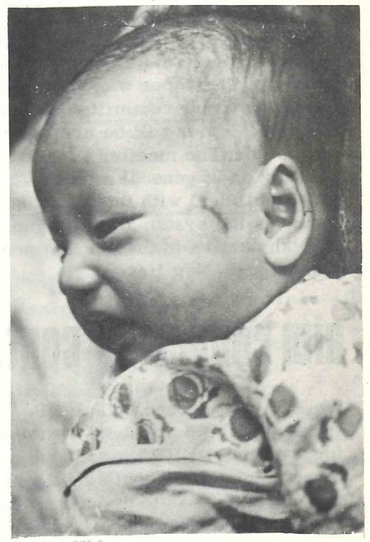
AIM CONDEMNS HARASSMENT

AIM condemns the concerted harassment campaign conducted by the FBI, local authorities and the press against the HPA, New Haven's most active grass roots organization, as an obvious political reprisal. AIM pledges to support the HPA in every way against these efforts to silence it. For this purpose, AIM is forming an HPA DEFENSE FUND, for if indictments are returned the legal expenses will be immense. Please send your contributions to AIM, 241 Orange Street, New Haven 06511.

In what appears to be an attempt to eliminate the Hill Parents Association from the New Haven political scene, U.S. Attorney John O. Newman this month convened a grand jury and subpoenaed at least 11 persons. The 11 are either members or friends of the HPA or city or state employees who have dealt with the HPA.

Although grand jury investigations are supposed to be secret, someone --apparently the local police or officials in Newman's office-- "leaked" some details to the local press. The New Haven Journal-Courier on October 4, in a front-page article with a five-column headline, announced that federal officials were seeking indictments of HPA leaders on extortion charges. From the article's mass of innuendoes based on sources such as "general knowledge," one fact emerges. The charges appear to stem from an open-air meeting in

cont. page 2



A child at birth, showing wound received from U.S. fragmentation bomb while still in its mother's womb, and the same child 3 months later. Her name is Ngoc Bao, or Precious Pearl. The doctor who saved the life of mother and child after the July 31, 1966 bombing of North Vietnam was 26 years old.

REPORT FROM BRATISLAVA

By Robert Cook

From September 5th through September 12th, I joined a group of 40 other Americans at a meeting with about 30 Vietnamese in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. The Vietnamese were evenly divided between representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF), but they were of one mind. Their position - they are winning the war, North and South; the Americans must stop the bombing and withdraw their troops; the NLF is the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people; the territorial integrity of Vietnam must be respected and the country must be reunited.

The conference was organized, on our side, by Tom Hayden, Nick

cont. page 9

AIM

Editorial Staff
Ruth Beth
Lis Henderson
Linda Prokopy
Peter Rose

The bulletin of the American Independent Movement will be published every two or three weeks.
Letters to the editor are invited.
Subscriptions to the AIM newsletter cost $2 a year, $3 for a sponsoring subscription
Fill out your checks to AIM newsletter and send to
IPAC
241 Orange Street
New Haven, 06510.
For information write, or call 787-0123.

AIM Paper Position to be Released

On Monday, Oct. 23 at 8:00 p.m. in the AIM office, 241 Orange St. Harris and Joan Stone will present the data and conclusions of AIM's position paper on the purposes and realities behind the urban renewal program. The paper was compiled jointly by a sub-committee of AIM workers. Copies will be available at 25¢ apiece. The meeting is the first of a series of general meetings which will deal with those critical issues being systematically ignored by both parties in the current non-campaign in New Haven.

aim condemns cont.

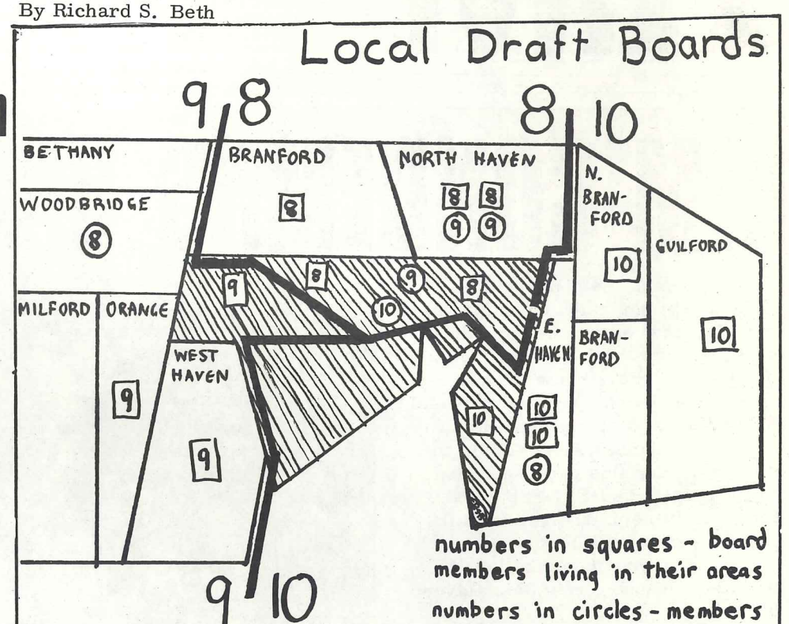
the HPA playground on July 19. Ironically, the purpose of the meeting, attended by HPA members, other community people and local businessmen, was to discuss ways in which local businesses could assist in revitalizing the neighborhood. The Journal-Courier story implies that the merchants were told that their businesses would suffer unless they contributed to the HPA.

HPA leaders, as well as the New Haven Civil Liberties Union, are waiting with concern to see if any more stories from the "secret" grand jury proceedings are leaked. As the AIM newsletter went to press no charges had been made.

It is known, from the Journal-Courier story and other local sources, that the FBI is spearheading the attacks on the HPA. Mayor Lee, City Hall sources make clear, is actively cooperating in the effort.

FOLLOW THE RULES: Draft Boards in New Haven

By Richard S. Beth



Draft boards are a middle class operation. At least in New Haven, their composition, their procedures, and their attitudes reflect a middle class orientation. This became evident in a study of the boards which serve New Haven, in which the three local board offices were visited, and one member of each board was interviewed, one of whom was the chairman of his board.

COMPOSITION

There are three boards in the area, numbered 8, 9, and 10. Each serves a part of New Haven and some of its suburbs; the three meet in the center of New Haven, so that each has some suburbs and some downtown areas under its jurisdiction. There seem to be no maps of the board areas, only lists of streets within each. Consequently, there is some confusion about the location of the boundaries, and the map given is only approximate. In fact, members of all three boards denied that the Hill area was in their jurisdiction, although clerical staff later confirmed that it was under the 10th board.

There are no black people on the boards, although one member said there had been one, who has since died. The other two saw "no reason why there couldn't" be one, and said they would have no objection to working with him. The occupations of all the members of the boards are solidly middle class and upper middle class (see table).

Since the boards are supposed to be manned by volunteers, one might expect that those who could afford to be on the boards would be largely middle class. But one of the men interviewed said he had not volunteered, but had been asked to take the job. How often does this happen, rather than selection from volunteers which we are told is used? What are the criteria of selection? I was told that appointments are made by the governor, and that I had better ask him. The appointments are made for an indefinite term; several members have served since the inception of the boards after World War II.

I also found that not all members of the local boards live in their local board areas - that 6 out of 19 live in areas other than that over which they have jurisdiction. Seven of the members live in either North Haven or East Haven; none lives in the Hill area. A board member explained this by saying that sometimes board members move, and that residence is not the key factor is appointments, but rather availability.

PROCEDURES

The volunteer local boards may thus be neither volunteer nor local; they are arbitrary collections of "solid citizens." But the men I interviewed all felt that this made little difference because of the routine nature of the work. They never see the men they classify, except on appeals, but work from forms and materials presented to them by the clerical staffs. Perhaps 50 cases come up at each meeting, and all decisions are made on the basis of regulations and bulletins which the board receives from State Selective Service Headquarters. Deferments are given, for educational, occupational, and hardship reasons, in all cases justified by the regulations, they said. Hard cases, like C.O. applications, of which there are not many, are often referred to the State Board.

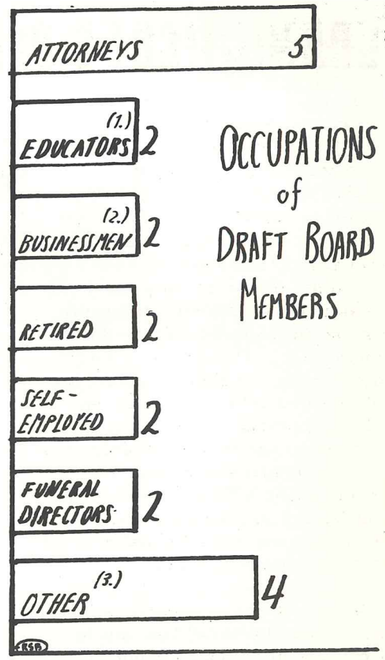
Once the men are classified, those who are 1-A are called strictly in order of their dates of birth, oldest first. The quota for each local board is proportional to the number of men in the 1-A category in that board area, I was told.

Only one of the three men interviewed indicated that there were cases where the board had to use its judgment in the application of the rules. He said he personally favored giving preference to men continuing their education over those hanging around in the street, and, in general, "we try to lean over backwards within the scope of the rules and regulations." But such cases had to be handled individually, and therefore could not be generalized about, he said; this was borne out by one of the staff members, who said that of two engineers, one might be classified 1-A and the other deferred - "I don't know why." All those interviewed agreed that no generalizations could be made about the proportion of deferment applications that were granted, or the provisions of the rules on the basis of which decisions were made. Thus we find a strange contradiction, on the one hand all cases are decided by general rules and the board has little discretion; on the other hand no estimates of what happens in general can be given because each case is individual and no generalizations can be made. For such information, I was again referred to State Headquarters. All these men viewed themselves as carrying out a routine duty in obedience to directives handed down by authority, about whose justification and whose effect they were not even interested.

ATTITUDES

In their attitudes about policy, the men I talked with expressed the same respect for law and authority, and a feeling of obligation to perform the duties of citizens and support the government. They minimized the importance of dissent from U.S. war policy and opposition to the draft law. One said that attempts to escape the draft through "trumped-up claims" were few, and usually indicated some health, economic, or family problem. Another thought reluctance to serve was largely grounded in the remoteness of the war, but did not lead to much draft dodging. Those who counsel young men to resist, he said, were simply advising law breaking. If they thought the law was unjust, they should try to change it. Was it just? "Until they find a better one:" The last of the three members thought the whole matter of war dissent irrelevant to the topic of the operation of the draft boards. Those disturbed by the way the system works, he said, are usually disturbed before they register. None of those interviewed felt guilty about doing their jobs, and all referred to the duties of citizens in justification of their position. Two pointed out that most board members had served in the armed forces themselves, or at least their sons or relatives had. "I'm sorry it has to happen," one said of the draftees killed in action, "but somebody has to do it. It is the citizen's duty to serve his country." The second added, "we have an obligation, a duty, and how are we going to defend it otherwise?"

Similarily, all were fully committed to national policy. One felt his position obligated him to back national policy, and said he would resign if he did not agree with it. Another said he did not feel so obligated, but said he would back the policy even if he were not on the board. "I'm an American citizen," said the third, and he thought we should support the government because "these people are elected to plan our lives."



1. includes administrators
2. includes one also doing graduate study
3. Banker, Dentist, Postmaster, Engineer.

CONNECTICUT'S DEFENSE ECONOMY

Two small groups of men were asked by reporters recently if and how they were doing their jobs. They were no ordinary men, but rather comprised the business, labor and political "leaders" we hold responsible for the public welfare. The fact that they could not or would not answer the questions realistically interested us, so we looked further into the matter. Pretty soon, we discovered yet another example of that marvelous combination of incompetent, tame politicians and businessmen responsible only to their profit statements - a combination forever unable and unwilling to solve the political, economic and social problems of Connecticut citizens.

Associated Press reporters asked the "leaders" how much Connecticut industry depended on defense orders and, secondly, what plans existed to solve the problems of unemployed men, machines and other property should peace in Vietnam stop the flow of defense business.

First, the facts of the matter: Connecticut has done more defense business per resident than any other state. Since 1955, military contracts worth $5,218 per person have poured into the state. California, in second place, showed $3,365 per person. The most recent figures available, those for the year ending June, 1966, show a doubling of defense orders to Connecticut business from those of 1965 to a new high of over $2 billion. To appreciate the size of these contracts, consider that this amount for 1966 is more than twice the total of all federal grants in aid to Connecticut in the last fifteen years. Similarly, defense business in fiscal 1966 was valued at 250 times the amount given that year to local anti-poverty programs throughout the state (See New Haven Register, Sept. 12, 1967).

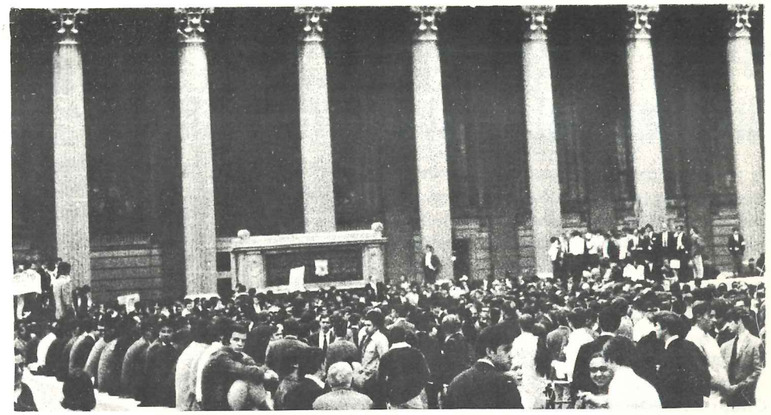
More facts: the United Aircraft Corporation is the state's largest employer with 70,000 workers. Its major products are airplane engines increasingly needed to replace aircraft shot down abroad. Connecticut's second largest defense industry is shipbuilding, concentrated in the hands of the General Dynamics Corporation's Electric Boat Division of Groton, Connecticut. In 1965, before the military build-up of the last two years, Electric Boat had 13,000 employees. The present number of employees has climbed to 18,000. Together with such arms producers as Colt of Hartford and other smaller defense industries, the war business pays between 100,000 and 200,000 employees in the state, or between 23 and 46 per cent of the manufacturing work force.

After World War II, employment at Electric Boat fell from 12,000 men to 1,500. A study prepared in 1965 by the National Planning Association for the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency determined that in the New London - Groton - Norwich area 71.5 per cent of the civilian work force depended on defense-related industry. The study predicted that across-the-board defense reductions would throw 27 per cent of the workers out of work in the first year, 40 per cent within five years. In the depths of the Depression, 25 per cent of the American labor force had no work.

Now, what do business, labor and political leaders say and do about this situation? Mr. Frederick Waterhouse, executive director of the Manufacturers Association of Connecticut, indicates neither alarm nor great concern. "Manufacturing is always changing," he says, "If there were a reduction in so-called defense orders, there would be a slight period of readjustments to change to other products. But you've got a tight labor market. A lot of people would be absorbed immediately." This quaint reasoning is economic nonsense. The labor market is only tight because of defense industry hiring policies; cut defense spending and you cut employment. Nor is the prospect of "readjustment to other products" reassuring, for no group or sector in our economy exists at present to replace the buying power eliminated by a major defense cut. The entire national economy has taken twenty years to adjust itself to a high and growing level of defense spending. Transportation industries, home-building industries, wholesale and retail distributors and other major sectors of the economy have located plants, stores, housing developments and made huge investments assuming the continuance and growth of the defense industry. Millions of people are trained for jobs peculiar to war production. To cut defense spending seriously means much more than simply having the government spend the money on "other things." Those "other things" will necessitate vast changes in transport networks, changes in the location and skills of working populations, as well as changes in the quantities and types of goods produced. The costs of converting our economy to peace must include all the associated costs of retraining and of homes, offices, stores, plants made empty and unusable because the economic activities for which they were intended were eliminated by "changing from war production to other things."

Beyond the question of how much economic reconversion to peace will really cost, there is a serious problem of simply organizing the process. This problem takes on urgency because of the political overtones of any prolonged dislocation of workers and businesses during reconversion.

To put the whole matter as simply as possible: paying for and organizing a speedy reconversion of the American economy to peacetime would require massive amounts of money and even greater doses of nation-wide planning and control by some authority. In view of such issues of money and power, what say our "leaders?"



Deomonstrators outside in Beinecke Plaza as Lady Bird Johnson speaks to the Yale Political Union indoors. Some press reports estimated the crowd at Beinecke Plaza at 1,000.

While businessmen express doubts, worries and the kind of absurdities offered by Mr. Waterhouse, the two State agencies supposedly most concerned with these problems make believe there is no problem. Mr. Horace Brown, director of the Connecticut Development Commission, is sure that private business is adequately preparing itself for the day of reduction in defense spending. Mr. Renator Ricciuti, Connecticut's Labor Commissioner, echoes these charming certainties with the remark, "They (private business) can see this coming. They have their own plans." Perhaps because of personal experience with the consequences, honesty and vision of businessmen's decisions, State Labor Council (AFL-CIO) president Mr. John Driscoll expresses great apprehension about any transition to peace. He asks to see just what private business has planned and, possibly anticipating what these plans amount to, demands, "We ought to have the best brains of the state working on the problem of defense conversion."
Let us look at Driscoll's remarks and their underlying assumptions for they are the most sophisticated of our "leaders" responses to the issues.

At first glance, Mr. Driscoll seems to understand; he wants some serious planning to prepare transition to a peacetime economy. He distrusts the assurances of businessmen about plans known only to themselves. But most important of all, he stops short of challenging the businessmen's right to make whatever plans they may or may not have. This is the key issue. Will the people of Connecticut permit decisions which affect their jobs, their incomes, the tax supported services of the State and the very quality of their lives to be made by private businessmen whose chief concern is their profit level rather than the welfare of Connecticut residents? Why does Mr. Driscoll demand planning for massive economic changes without demanding the participation of the working men in decisions about those changes? The working people will be seriously affected by peace in Vietnam just as they were in Connecticut after World War II, but their experiences twenty years ago should at least make them insist on participation in and control over the kinds of changes to be made.

Since World War II, most of the crucial economic decisions affecting Connecticut have been made by private businessmen. They saw big profits in the defense business. They got local politicians to swing business their way. Consequently, Connecticut became as dependent on war as the statistics cited above indicate. Everyone knows that defense business is essentially unsteady, uncertain, liable to the ups and downs of world politics. Yet the lives of Connecticut's people were linked to the war machine without their choice in the matter. Are they now to face and experience a post-war depression? When concern for their profits drives Connecticut's big employers to new automated processes in peacetime, to cheap labor havens in the South, or to whatever adjustments to peacetime they see fit to make, will the people of Connecticut join Mr. Driscoll in refusing to challenge the right of business to private, secret plans? Will Connecticut continue to have its highest officials neglecting their tasks of guarding public welfare in deference to the private plans of business?

Realistically to plan reconversion to peacetime means to coordinate the activities of all economic groups including working people and business managements; no group can have private plans because that would make full coordination impossible. In so many words, no group may make decisions in private when those decisions affect everyone. Because our current "leaders" shrink from this fact, their words and deeds serve to cover up rather than explain the solution to this critical problem for Connecticut. Only a leadership prepared and willing to carry through a comprehensive reconversion plan in which everyone must participate can even hope to make reconversion easy and efficient. Only such a leadership could avoid the waste and dislocation of people and property that occurred after World Wars I and II. AIM offers such leadership.

Oct 21 March

October 21
MARCH ON WASHINGTON
"From Dissent to Resistance"
Buses will be going to Washington from New Haven at $12 per person. Forms for seat reservations are available at the AIM office. We cannot mail them out, they must be picked up. For further information call 624-5725.

DRAFT RESISTANCE: Intellectuals Move Toward Action

By Peter Rose

A major effort is now underway in New Haven to engage members of the professions -- clergymen, teachers, writers, lawyers, doctors, scientists -- in active support of draft resistance. Part of a national group called "Conscientious Resistance", with offices in New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, the plan is described by Yale Chaplain William Coffin, one of its chief organizers as an attempt to "move people from speaking in defense of the rights of conscience to acting in defense of those rights." Participants will be expected to sign a statement declaring their willingness to "counsel, aid and abet" draft resistors. These words are taken from the draft law's definition of criminal support for draft resistance. Secondly, the participants will go to Washington on October 20 and commit civil disobedience by presenting to the Justice Department the draft-cards of resistors who hand in their cards at a ceremony planned for October 16. Both events are part of a "National Stop the Draft Week" which will culminate in the mass protest march on October 21.

(On October 16 at various regional centers throughout the country, young men will gather at specified churches to turn in their draft cards in a full scale demonstration ceremony. In the New England area, the gathering place is the Arlington Street Church in Boston near the Green. A rally on the Green will begin about 11 a.m. Then at about 1:30 the ceremony at the church will begin with a Buddhist prayer, followed by a few speakers including Rev. Coffin. Then Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish resistors will kneel before ministers, priests, and rabbis, present their cards, and receive holy communion or a rabbinical benediction in return. "Humanists," as the organizers prefer to call those with no religious affiliation, will simply preserve a dignified silence during the rites. The cards thus collected will be carried by the members of the professions who choose to participate. They will gather at 1 p.m. at the First United Congregational Church of Christ, 10th and G Streets, then walk together to the Justice Department where cards will be presented to the Attorney General. Participants will thus publicly expose themselves to prosecution for civil disobedience.)

The plan illustrates some significant trends in protest against the war. One obvious trend is toward more extreme and active protest. People who have written congressmen, signed appeals to the president, stood in vigils, and marched in marches are now expressing their deep frustration at the indifference of the Johnson administration to ordinary expressions of dissent. Though they are anxious that all forms of pressure on the administration be maintained, they are increasingly recognizing a need for something more drastic. Furthermore, as the level of destruction in Vietnam spirals, a deeper feeling of personal guilt for the crimes committed in the name of the American people is spurring many to seek meaningful, personal risks in dissociating themselves from the Johnson administration's war. More concretely, the cynicism of that administration has led many to recognize that draft resistance is the most realistic means of bringing a pressure to bear which cannot be ignored.

However, this trend toward concentration on draft resistance carries a special moral difficulty for those who are not liable to the draft themselves. On the one hand, they wish by committing civil disobedience to give the fullest possible moral support to the young men who are deciding to resist the draft at the price of a grim prison sentence. Yet because the price of resistance is so high for the young who choose to resist, their elders feel great moral repugnance at the idea of urging such a course upon them.

Since the draft law specifies "counsel, aid, and abet" as constituting criminal support, these words or some clear equivalent must be part of the statement signed by those who wish to express their support by committing civil disobedience. Thus the statement printed below reflects a great deal of soul-searching on the part of the organizers, an effort to make crystal clear that they are extending an offer of moral and material support only to those who have already decided to resist after a full consideration of the risks it involves.

Another important trend which this latest effort illustrates is toward the "prestige" approach; that is, an attempt to concentrate on involving those with money and respectability in active protest. Rev. Coffin describes this in part as seeking to engage the presumed "leaders of society" in "leading significantly." But he also points out a hard fact which again reflects upon the cynicism of the Johnson administration, namely that the views of ordinary American citizens seem so easily dismissed that he feels we must enlist as many people as possible whose position in society makes it more difficult to ignore their opinion. Thus the first step in this movement was to publish "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" together with a long list of impressive sounding signers in The New York Review of Books and The New Republic, both of which claim that the majority of their readers have Ph.D's. The news conference follow-up on October 2 featured Rev. Coffin, Dwight MacDonald, Mitchell Goodman, and Noam Chomsky. The first circular distributed by the group carried the names of Robert Lowell, Norman Mailer, and Arthur Waskow. Rev. Coffin expects the October 20 protest will attract only 400 to 600 participants. The implicit snobbery and exclusivism suggested by this approach are unfortunate. Nor does it seem very likely that this group will in fact impress the administration significantly. But it is valuable that a group which has such a generous share in this society's advantages should attempt to accept a share in the moral responsibility for its crimes. The heavy involvement of the clergy in this protest including the romantic offer of the churches as sanctuaries for the draft resistors especially highlights the attempt to force upon the government a moral confrontation which so far the government has appeared eager to avoid. The protestors have asserted their conviction that the war is both illegal and immoral. As Rev. Coffin puts it, "the burden of legal and moral proof is upon the Johnson administration; we are not demoralizing our boys, it's the President who is demoralizing them by asking them to do immoral things.

The following is the statement which will be signed by those who participate on October 20:

"We, the undersigned, have assembled today to place ourselves in solemn opposition to American military policy overseas. We regard the Viet-Nam war as an outrage to the Constitution, to our individual consciences, to the hope for enduring peace, and to the moral sensibility of the world. Despite our deep belief in the sanctity of law, the injustice of our national conduct has moved us to support those who would, out of conscience, resist the law.

"The Selective Service Act asserts that anyone 'who knowingly counsels, aids or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service.... shall be liable to imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of ten thousand dollars or both.'

"We do not wish to impose our views on the uncommitted eligible for military service, but we hereby affirm our solidarity with the young men who have chosen to resist. We counsel them to maintain their resistance and we publicly pledge ourselves to aid and abet them in any way we can."

If any members of the professions wish to join this protest and are interested in group transportation, they may leave their names at the AIM office. The organizers of the protest are now looking into the feasability of chartering a plane, and it would be helpful to have a list of those who would be definitely interested.

TAXPAYERS AGAINST WAR

by Naomi Sanders

Some 100 people in Northern California are about to file suit against the Federal District Court for illegal use of war taxes. They are joining with people who have taken similar action in 1965, under the name Taxpayers Against the War (TAW). This is only a start. They need the participation of many local organizations in all parts of the country to insure that the case reaches the Supreme Court.

TAW feel they are more than justified in their action because: 1) U.S. participation in Vietnam violates the U.N. Charter, 2) Conduct in the war constitutes a crime against peace and humanity, 3) U.S. activities in the war, being contrary to our consciences, violate the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The procedure for recovering taxes is fairly simple. You file for a refund within 3 years from the date of payment (being sure to notify TAW of this action). You claim that 17% - the amount for war finances - or 67% - the amount for military expenditures in general - was collected illegally. The Internal Revenue Service refuses and you sue the government through your Federal District Court. You will be notified if there are enough people in your district to make action feasible. You then make arrangements for a lawyer. The cost of this action can be as much as $20,000 if a case goes to the Supreme Court. However, 200 claimants in any one district could share that cost, or pay $100 each. The cost decreases as the number of claimants increases.

Taxpayers Against the War differ from tax refusers. Nonpayment of taxes constitutes an act of civil disobedience punishable by imprisonment and/or fines. But a tax refund is legal (tax form 843), and thus can serve as a significant form of protest against the war.

If anyone is interested in assisting in this district, please contact:
Taxpayers Against the War
c/o Mrs. Joel Goldstein
P.O. Box 15394
San Francisco, California 94115

CHARLES LLOYD QUARTET

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11

8:00 P.M. WOOLSEY HALL $2.50

ONLY AMERICAN GROUP TO PLAY AT A JAZZ FESTIVAL IN THE SOVIET UNION. JUST RETURNED FROM SENSATIONAL APPEARANCES AT THE FILLMORE AND AVALON BALLROOMS IN SAN FRANCISCO AND EUROPEAN TOUR - INCLUDING PRAGUE, BUCHAREST, WARSAW JAZZ FESTIVAL, LONDON, MILAN AND STOCKHOLM.

WITH LIGHT SHOW

YALE DRAFT REFUSAL

In response to the continuance of the Vietnam war and to the new vulnerability of college students to conscription, a draft refusal movement has been launched at Yale.

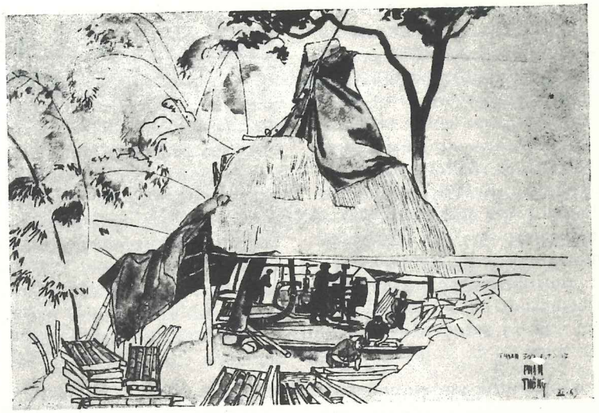
The Yale Draft Refusal Committee, composed of eleven graduate and undergraduate students, has sent a pledge card and explanatory pamphlet to all Yale students. They are inviting all eligible men at Yale to sign the following pledge: "

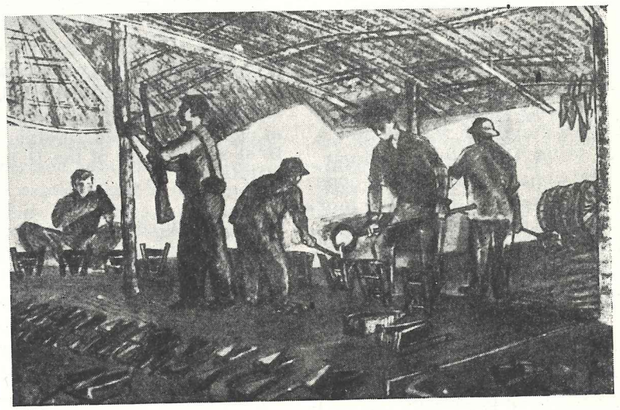
"We are men of draft age who believe that the United States is waging an unjust war in Vietnam. We cannot, in conscience, participate in this war. We therefore declare our determination to refuse induction as long as the United States is fighting in Vietnam."
Vietnam."

The Committee's pamphlet points out that, under the new law and executive orders, seniors and first-year graduate students can expect to be drafted at the end of the current academic year. Advanced graduate students remain at the mercy of their local draft boards and can now expect to be drafted even if they remain students until past the age of 26.

Initial reaction to the movement has been promising. The Committee's first public meeting (on October 4) overflowed Dwight Hall onto the yard of the Old Campus. The New Haven Journal-Courier estimated that the gathering numbered 350.

The Yale Daily News greeted the announcement of the Committee's effort with a long and sympathetic editorial. It called the "We Won't Go" statement "an urgent and critical challenge to every student facing the possibility that he will be called to serve in the Vietnam War."
The Committee plans to publish its list of signers in the Daily News and in the Register, but it has not announced any publication date.





These prints, on North Vietnamese postcards, are from a collection entitled "production and fighting." They show the way in which North Vietnamese production has continued, camouflaged and de-centralized, in the face of American bombing.

According to Jack Nagel, a member of the group, the date chosen will depend on "the amount of time students seem to need for their decisions, the rate of flow of signatures to us, and considerations of political timing."

A supporting statement is being circulated among men and women not eligible for the draft. Those interested in signing it should fill out and mail the coupon on this page. The Committee needs and welcomes financial support.

WE ARE MEN AND WOMEN NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE DRAFT WE FULLY AGREE WITH AND SUPPORT THE MEN WHO HAVE HAD THE INTEGRITY AND COURAGE TO SIGN THE DRAFT REFUSAL PLEDGE.

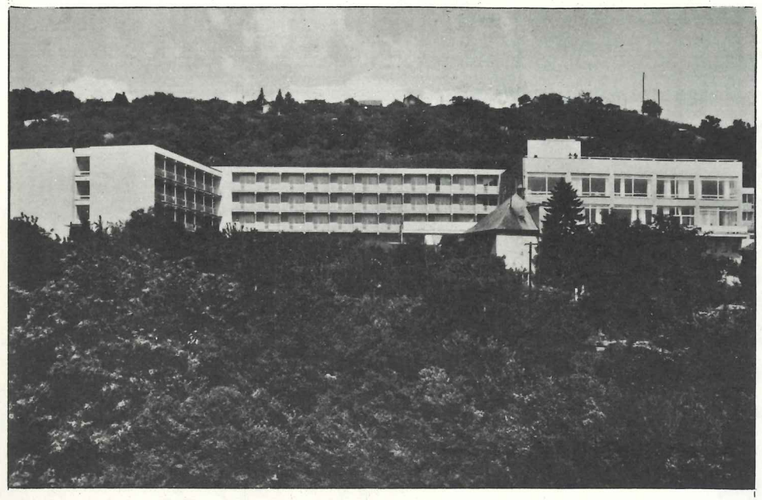
I am willing to sign and have my name published with those of other supporters.
Name_____
Phone_____
Address_____

I would also like to:

contribute financial support_____
help circulate the statement_____

Monetary support is also welcome from those who sympathize but do not wish to sign the support statement.

Please make all checks or money order payable to the Yale Draft Refusal Committee. Mail coupon and/or contribution to the Yale Draft Refusal Committee, P.O. Box 2053, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.



The site of the conference was a vacation spot for union members in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. About one year old, it was modern, comfortable, and well supplied with Czech food and beer.

bratislava cont.

Egleson, and Dave Dellinger, who acted as unofficial leader of the American delegation. The Czech Peace Committee, our hosts, supplied us with space, lodging, food and a U.N. type multi-channel sound system for simultaneous translation. We paid our own transportation costs, and most of us went as individuals, not as representatives of our organizations which included AFSC, SCLC, SNCC, SDS, SSOC, Vietnam Summer, the Resistance, the Mobilization, and the United Afro-American Association. There will be published reports from Dave Dellinger in Liberation, Bob Allen in The National Guardian, Sol Stern in Ramparts, Christopher Jenks in The New Republic, Andrew Kopkind in The New Statesman, Carol Brightman in Viet Report, and others.

The Vietnamese were representatives of what they call "mass organizations" - Youth Federations, Teachers' Associations, Women's Unions, and so on - as well as artists and writers. Many of them turned out to be officials in their governments as well. For example, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the NLF delegation and Vice-President of the Liberation Women's Union, is a member of the Central Committee of the NLF.

As part of our AIM activities during the past year, we have had many debates on the basis for a settlemen in Vietnam. The position of the Vietnamese at Bratislava was, to put it bluntly, that this is their business, not ours. They hammered home the point over and over again: "This is our country, our culture. Americans are foreigners and aggressors. The rights of the Vietnamese people must be respected. The Americans must leave." They suggested in fact, that given the crimes of the U.S. military in Vietnam, the withdrawal of U.S. troops is a minimum demand. That is, they are not asking for War Crimes trials and reparations.

I think Americans who make the effort to imagine how they would feel if the situation were reversed must admit the power of the Vietnamese argument.

Upon my return, some people have been upset that the "hard line" pushed by the Vietnamese diminishes the chances for peace, by reducing the possibility of "negotiations now."

But, in fact, their position forces us to face the reality of the situation, and the total bankruptcy of official U.S. policy, as well as that of liberal peace groups. One cannot dispute these facts: it is their country; the Americans are foreign troops; we are bombing them and not vice versa; we do represent white power in Asia. So the liberals who despair at the Vietnamese demands are really in this bag - they want the war ended, but at the expense of the Vietnamese. In other words, they fail to face their own responsibility that they may have to pay the price of disrupting their ordinary lives to force American withdrawal.

One of the jobs of the Americans at Bratislava was, I thought, to dispel any illusions the Vietnamese might have about the strength of the peace movement in the U.S. Just meeting us face to face, seeing our relative disorganization and lack of cohesion should have helped. But it turned out that this was hardly necessary. The Vietnamese have no illusions about us. They count not upon the American Peace Movement, but upon their own strength to win the war. And they presented impressive evidence that they are winning. They argue that in the North they have decentralized the economy to the point

Bob Cook will be speaking on the Bratislava conference at the United Church Parish House, 323 Temple St., New Haven, on Sunday October 22 at 4 p.m. as part of the Angry Arts program; and at the Wooster Square Community Association, Conte School, November 9 at 8 p.m. He will also be happy to speak to any other interested groups in the New Haven area.

where there are no major targets left - "Johnson will have to trade an F-105 for a can of oil." The American bombs, they say, hit empty shells - of schools, factories, hospitals, and communications centers. They learned how to do this against the French, they argue, and they are doing it again.

In the South the NLF claims control of 4/5 of the land and 2/3 of the people. Again, the evidence is impressive. Movies, newspapers, records, art prints, stamps, books and so on are coming out of the liberated zones. The articles we read in the paper every day verify much of what the Vietnamese say. - that U.S. troops are being hit hard; that despite continued claims of American victories, no progress is apparent; that, in fact, an "enclave policy" has been adopted by the U.S. military as a matter of survival, not choice.

Over and over the Vietnamese stressed that they are fighting Johnson, the military and the ruling circles of the U.S., not the American people. If this distinction is strange to us, it is natural for them. Their way of thinking is so different from ours that few Americans will comprehend the sophistication and complexity of what seems at first glance to be propaganda. In practice, they addressed us at the conference as "dear friends," while denouncing the "American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys." In the long run, they see the American people not as lacking the will to carry on the war, but as becoming aware that their real interests demand an end to the war.

There were many difficult questions left unanswered in Bratislava, and many more answered only in a superficial, sloganizing fashion. But the message may have come through more clearly as a result. Regarding a question on DRV troops in the South, there was evasion as to details, but explictness as to principle, "We have every right to aid our southern brothers in the fight against foreign aggression - this is our country and your troops are the foreigners." The job of the Americans is to get our troops out of there. Rather similar, I suggest, to the cry of the Negro in the U.S. - "I don't want you to love me - just get your white friends off my back."

Zellner and SCEF

Robert Zellner, former manager of AIM's Cook for Congress Campaign, will be in New Haven on Thursday, Oct. 24. Bob now works for the Southern Conference Educational Fund in New Orleans, organizing white southerns for an alternative to racism. You are invited to meet with Bob Zellner at the residence of Robert Gelbach and Morris Kaplan, 109 Sherman Ave. on Thursday, Oct. 24 at 8:00 p.m. RSVP 776-0820 or 467-4269.

Independent Political Action Committee
241 Orange Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06510

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
2-7/8¢
New Haven, Conn.
Permit No. 89